

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-02 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00

NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15 NEA-10 GAC-01

TRSE-00 MBFR-03 SAJ-01 INRE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 IO-13

ACDA-19 AEC-11 AECE-00 OMB-01 OIC-04 USIE-00 RSR-01

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O R 011150 Z JUN 73

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0338

SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 3020

USNMR SHAPE

USDOCOSOUTH

USLOSACLANT

USCINCEUR

USDEL SALT TWO

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 2689

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR GUIDELINES

HELSINKI FOR USDEL MPT

VIENNA FOR USDEL MBFR

FOR COPENHAGEN: HOLD FOR MCGUIRE

REF: STATE 10484 #

SUMMARY: FOLLOWING IS NEW MAY 30 SPC DRAFT OF MBFR GUIDELINES,
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WHICH WILL BE DISCUSSED IN NAC ON JUNE 4. COVER NOTE IS ALSO
A DRAFT WHICH MAY BE FURTHER EXPANDED BY LUNS TO EXPLAIN POINTS
OF AGREEMENT AND REMAINING ISSUES, AS SUGGESTED BY AMBASSADOR
RUMSFELD IN NAC AND PERMREPS LUNCH ON MAY 28 AND 29. SEPTTEL FOLLOWS

GIVING HIGHLIGHTS OF MAY 30 SPC MEETING. WE WILL FORWARD GUIDELINES BY CABLE WITH ANNOTATIONS REQUESTED REF A AS SOON AS FINAL VERSION WITH COVER NOTE HAS BEEN ISSUED BY SECRETARIAT, PROBABLY ON JUNE 5, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT RESULTS OF JUNE 4 NAC. ACTION REQUESTED: GUIDANCE FOR JUNE 4.

END SUMMARY

BEGIN TEXT OF COVER NOTE

ATTACHED IS A FURTHER REVISION OF THE SECRET MBFR GUIDELINES, PREPARED BY THE SENIOR POLITICAL COMMITTEE IN ACCORDANCE WITH COUNCIL INSTRUCTIONS OF 28 TH AND 30 TH MAY, 1973.

2. THESE GUIDELINES ARE INTENDED AS A STEP TOWARDS THE ELABORATION OF ALLIED POSITIONS FOR THE AUTUMN MBFR NEGOTIATIONS. THE ALLIES MUST HAVE PREPARED FOR THE AUTUMN CONCRETE PROPOSALS, INCLUDING REDUCTIONS, AND THE OVERALL ALLIED APPROACH SHOULD TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE REQUIREMENT TO PROCEED WITH APPROPRIATE FLEXIBILITY IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THESE PROPOSALS WOULD ENABLE THE ALLIES TO ESTABLISH A PREFERRED NEGOTIATING PROGRAMME, INCLUDING POSSIBLE SPECIFIC PHASES. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THESE PROPOSALS WILL NOT HOWEVER PREJUDGE WHEN AND HOW THEY SHOULD BE USED IN NEGOTIATIONS.

3. IN ORDER TO INDICATE DIFFERENCES IN VIEWS AMONG THE ALLIES AS CLEARLY AS POSSIBLE, AS THE COUNCIL REQUIRED, THE SENIOR POLITICAL COMMITTEE HAS CAREFULLY AVOIDED ELABORATING COMPROMISE LANGUAGE BUT RATHER ATTEMPTED TO SET OUT ALTERNATIVE POSITIONS (IN BRACKETS).

4. THE SENIOR POLITICAL COMMITTEE DID NOT INCLUDE IN THE PRESENT DOCUMENT ANY SECTION ON CONSULTATIONS AND CO- ORDINATION OF ALLIED MBFR POLICY. IT FELT THAT THIS MATTER WAS OF SUCH IMPORTANCE THAT THE COUNCIL WOULD WISH TO RESERVE TO ITSELF THE PREROGATIVE OF DISCUSSING IT.

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5. THE SENIOR POLITICAL COMMITTEE HAS RECALLED THAT THERE IS A NEED TO MAINTAIN THE UTMOST CARE AND DISCRETION IN ALL QUARTERS ON ALL MATTERS RELATED TO THE PREPARATION OF ALLIED NEGOTIATING POSITIONS.

END TEXT OF COVER NOTE

BEGIN TEXT OF GUIDELINES

1. THE ALLIED POSITION ON MBFR SHOULD AIM AT A BALANCED OUTCOME THAT WILL ENSURE UNDIMINISHED SECURITY FOR ALL MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE AT A LOWER LEVEL OF FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE. BY UNDIMINISHED SECURITY IS MEANT THE MAINTENANCE, AND IF

POSSIBLE THE ENHANCEMENT, OF THE MILITARY SECURITY POSTURE OF THE ALLIANCE.

2. IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, ONE OF THE ALLIED AIMS SHOULD BE TO SEEK TO REDUCE MILITARY CONFRONTATION AND THUS TEST THE WARSAW PACT WILLINGNESS TO ADDRESS CONCRETE MILITARY SECURITY ISSUES, WHICH COULD PROMOTE REAL DETENTE.

3. MBFR MEASURES SHOULD NOT BE OF SUCH SCOPE AND MAGNITUDE AS TO DIMINISH THE ABILITY OF THE ALLIES TO TAKE THE NECESSARY MILITARY STEPS TO FULFULL CURRENTLY AGREED NATO STRATEGY: FORWARD DEFENCE, FLEXIBLE RESPONSE AND NUCLEAR DETERRENCE.

GEOGRAPHIC AND RELATED CONCERNS

4. REDUCTIONS SHOULD BE CONFINED GEOGRAPHICALLY TO CENTRAL EUROPE.

PLUS EITHER: (BEGIN BRACKETS) (THE GEOGRAPHICAL APPLICATION OF OTHER MEASURES AGREED IN MBFR NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD DEPEND ON THE NATURE AND CONTENT OF THESE MEASURES.) END BRACKETS

OR: BEGIN BRACKETS (OTHER MEASSURES AGREED IN MBFR NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD EUALLY BE CONFINED GEOGRAPHICALLY TO CENTRAL EUROPE.) END BRACKETS

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PLUS: THE SECURITY ISSUES ON THE FLANKS, IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AND IN THE BALKANS ARE SIGNIFICANTLY DIFFERENT FROM THOSE IN CENTRAL EUROPE. IT IS THEREFORE IMPORTANT TO AVOID EITHER PROCEDURAL OR SUBSTANTIVE APPROACHES TO MBFR WHICH WOULD OPEN UP THESE OTHER AREAS FOR CONSIDERATION IN (BEGIN BRACKS) (THE MBFR PROGRAMME) (END BRACKETS) OR BEGIN GRACKETS (REDUCTIONS) BEND BRACKETS OR INVOLVE COMMITMENTS TO ADDRESS THESE AREAS AT A SUBSEQUENT STAGE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS.

5. THE ALLIED POSITION ON MBFR SHOULD TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE RISKS INVOLVED IN THE CREATION OF A SPECIAL GEOGRAPHICALLY CONFINED ARMS CONTROL ZONE IN CENTRAL EUROPE. MOREOVER, THE AREA FOR THE MBFR PROGRAMME MUST NOT BE LIMITED IN EAST AND WEST ONLY TO THE TERRITORIES OF THE TWO STATES IN GERMANY.

6. NEITHER THE CONDUCT NOR THE OUTCOME OF MBFR NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO INHIBIT THE AGREED PROGRAMME FOR THE CREATION OF EUROPEAN UNION OR THE GROWTH OF EUROPEAN

DEFENCE CO- OPERATION. EASTERN INFLUENCE, THROUGH MBFR AGREE- MENTS AND PROCEDURES, ON WESTERN SECURITY STRUCTURE, SHOULD

BE AVOIDED, OR AT LEAST KEPT TO A MINIMUM AND ADMITTED ON A
RECIPROCAL BASIS.

NOTE BY OC/ T: REF STATE 10484 BELIEVED TO BE INCORRECT REFERENCE.
WILL BE SERVICED UPON REQUEST.

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INFO OCT-01 EURE-00 ADP-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-02 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15 NEA-10

GAC-01 TRSE-00 MBFR-03 SAJ-01 INRE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00

IO-13 ACDA-19 AEC-11 AECE-00 OMB-01 OIC-04 USIE-00

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INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 3021

USNMR SHAPE

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7. THE FORTHCOMING MBFR NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD ALSO TAKE
ACCOUNT OF THE POSSIBLE EFFECTS ON THE SECURITY OF NATO'S
FLANKS OF FORCE REDUCTIONS IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

REDUCTIONS

8. IN PURSUIT OF THE OBJECTIVE OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY,
THE ALLIED APPROACH TO MBFR SHOULD BE AIMED AT REDUCING THE
ASYMMETRIES IN THE MILITARY BALANCE FAVOURING THE WARSAW PACT
(THE SIZE, COMPOSITION, AND OFFENSIVE ORIENTATION OF PACT
FORCES) AND MITIGATING THE GEOGRAPHIC ADVANTAGE OF THE SOVIET
UNION IN REINFORCEMENT. THUS, THE ALLIED OBJECTIVES IN MBFR
SHOULD BE BASED ON THE CONCEPT OF APPROXIMATE PARITY IN GROUND
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FORCES, BEGIN BRACKETS (TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THEIR MILITARY CAPABILITY APPROPRIATELY DEFINED) END BRACKETS AND THE REDUCTION OF ELEMENTS IN THE
WARSAW PACT POSTURE MOST THREATENING TO NATO SECURITY.

9. EITHER (FOOTNOTE 1) BEGIN BRACKETS (GIVEN THE SUPERIORITY OF SOVIET CONVENTIONAL FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE, THE REDUCTION OF SOVIET MILITARY STRENGTH IN THE AREA MUST BE A PRIMARY AIM. IT CANNOT BE OBTAINED WITHOUT SOME REDUCTIONS IN WESTERN STATIONED FORCES. IN THE LIGHT OF THE CONSIDERATIONS IN PARAGRAPHS 2-5 ABOVE, REDUCTIONS SHOULD BE CONFINED IN THE FIRST INSTANCE TO UNITED STATES AND SOVIET FORCES.) END BRACKETS

OR: BEGIN BRACKETS (IN OVERALL MBFR PROGRAMME, ALLIED OBJECTIVES SHOULD BE ADDRESSED IN THE FIRST INSTANCE TO ACHIEVING REDUCTIONS OF STATIONED FORCES. THE REPARTITION OF THESE REDUCTIONS (I. E., IN THIS INSTANCE FORCE REPATRIATIONS) ON THE NATO SIDE WILL BE A MATTER OF FURTHER ALLIED CONSULTATIONS, BUT THE REDUCTIONS SHOULD FOCUS ON U. S. STATIONED FORCES. BEGIN BRACKETS (SUBSEQUENTLY, ATTENTION WILL BE ADDRESSED TO THE QUESTION OF AN APPROPRIATE MIXED PACKAGE.) END BRACKETS
REDUCTIONS OF INDIGENOUS, FORCES WILL BE LEFT TO A LATER STAGE.) END BRACKETS

10. BEGIN BRACKETS (MAJOR ITEMS OF EQUIPMENT ASSOCIATED WITH THE ALLIED STATIONED OR INDIGENOUS GROUND FORCES TO BE WITHDRAWN OR REDUCED SHOULD BE PERMITTED TO BE STOCKPILED IN THE AREA.) END BRACKETS

11. REDUCTIONS ON THE ALLIED SIDE SHOULD NOT EXCEED APPROXIMATELY TEN PER CENT IN TOTAL STATIONED OR TEN PER CENT IN TOTAL INDIGENOUS MANPOWER.

PHASING

12. PHASING IS INTENDED TO ENSURE THAT MBFR IS NEGOTIATED AND IMPLEMENTED IN A CONTROLLED AND CALCULABLE PROCESS WITH LIMITED OBJECTIVES AND ACCEPTABLE RESULTS.

OTHER MBFR MEASURES (CONSTRAINTS, VERIFICATION, AND NON-CIRCUMVENTION)

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13. CONSTRAINTS SHOULD BE PART OF THE MBFR PROCESS. ANY REDUCTIONS MUST BE COMPLEMENTED BY APPROPRIATE CONSTRAINTS. THE ALLIED OBJECTIVE SHOULD INCLUDE APPROPRIATE PRE- REDUCTION CONSTRAINTS BEGIN BRACKETS (BUT PRE- REDUCTION CONSTRAINTS SHOULD NOT BE A CONDITION TO THE NEGOTIATION OF REDUCTIONS) END BRACKETS
THE IMPLEMENTATION OF CONSTRAINTS SHOULD TAKE PLACE AT THE LATEST SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH THE FIRST WITHDRAWALS. NO WITHDRAWALS OR

REDUCTIONS WOULD THEREFORE TAKE PLACE UNTIL SOME AGREEMENT ON CONSTRAINTS AND VERIFICATION HAD BEEN REACHED. BEGIN BRACKETS (THE GEOGRAPHICAL APPLICATION OF CONSTRAINTS MIGHT NOT BE THE SAME AS THAT OF REDUCTION AGREEMENTS.) END BRACKETS (FOOTNOTE 2)

14. ANY MBFR AGREEMENT MUST CONTAIN APPROPRIATE VERIFICATION PROVISIONS, INCLUDING NON- INTERFERENCE WITH NATIONAL MEANS, BEARING IN MIND THAT THE MODALITIES AND EXTENT OF VERIFICATION, INCLUDING INSPECTION, SHOULD DEPEND ON THE CONTENT AND NATURE OF THE AGREEMENTS REACHED.

PLUS EITHER: BEGIN BRACKETS (MBFR AGREEMENTS SHOULD BE ACCOMPANIED, FOR POLITICAL REASONS, BUT SOME MEASURES FOR OVERT MULTINATIONAL VERIFICATION, BUT THE ALLIES SHOULD NOT ENVISAGE ANY MBFR AGREEMENT, THE VERIFICATION OF WHICH WOULD NOT BE TECHNICALLY POSSIBLE IN THE WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES WITHOUT OVERT MULTI-NATIONAL MEASURES.) END BRACKETS

OR: BEGIN BRACKETS (THE ALLIES SHOULD NOT DEPEND ON THE ACHIEVEMENT OF OVERT MULTINATIONAL VERIFICATION MEASURES TO MAINTAIN UNDIMINISHED SECURITY, AND MUST BE PREPARED TO RELY ON NATIONAL MEANS OF VERIFICATION FOR ANY PROPOSALS WE ADVANCE OR ACCEPT.) END BRACKETS

15. AN IMPORTANT GOAL OF THE ALLIED APPROACH TO MBFR SHOULD BE TO ENSURE THROUGH APPROPRIATE MEASURES, THAT THE RPVOSIONS OF ANY MBFR AGREEMENT WILL NOT BE CIRCUMVENTED OR UNDERMINED, FOR EXAMPLE BY MEANS OF AN INCREASE OF THE LEVEL OF STATIONED FORCES AND THEIR EQUIPMENT IN HUNGARY.

EITHER: BEGIN BRACKETS (THE QUESTION OF HUNGARY' S INCLUSION IN A CONSTRAINTS AREA SHOULD BE KEPT OPEN.) END BRACKETS OR BEGIN BRACKETS
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(THE ALLIED CONCEPT SHOULD THEREFORE INCLUDE HUNGARY IN CONSTRAINTS AGREEMENT.) END BRACKETS WAYS MUST BE FOUND TO DEAL WITH THESE VALID MILITARY CONCERNS.

16. WHILE DEALING WITH THE PROBLEMS ABOVE, THE ALLIES SHOULD KEEP IN MIND THE LEGITIMATE SECURITY INTERESTS OF THE FLANK COUNTRIES AND THE INDIVISIBILITY OF THE SECURITY OF THE ALLIANCE. A DECISION OF ANY ALLIED FLANK COUNTRY OR COUNTRIES NOT TO BE INCLUDED IN RESTRICTIONS WHICH WOULD BE PART OF AN AGREEMENT ON FORCE REDUCTIONS IN CENT

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

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USDOCOSOUTH
USLOSACLANT
USCINCEUR
SALT TWO

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